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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166981 TOSEC 070031

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 5477 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ATHENS
NICOSIA NATO JUL 16.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5477

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, PFOR, PINT, GR, CY, TU
SUBJ: ARMS EMBARGO: MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL

REF: STATE 165846

1. IT IS 0200 A.M. LOCAL TIME AND I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM
A PRIVATE MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL WHICH BEGAN AT
1000 P.M. BERGUS ACCOMPANIED ME AND YAVUZALP (DIRGEN
MUTUAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, MFA) WAS ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT.
BECAUSE THE DEMIREL GOVT HAS RECEIVED MUCH ABUSE FOR
ALLEGEDLY YIELDING TO USG INTERVENTION A MONTH AGO CAGLAYANGIL
IS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS THAT NO REPEAT NO WORD GET OUT OF OUR
MEETING THIS EVENING. IN FACT, GOT IS TELLING PRESS THAT
IT WILL NOT BE IN TOUCH WITH ME UNTIL AFTER THE JULY 16
NSC AND CABINET MEETINGS.
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2. OUR DISCUSSION BEGAN WITH MY DELIVERING PRESIDENT FORD'S
MESSAGE TO PRIMIN WHICH CAGLAYANGIL STUDIED WITH CONSIDER-
ABLE CARE. UNFORTUNATELY I FOUND THE FONMIN'S MOOD VERY
SIMILAR TO WHAT WE HAVE RECENTLY ENCOUNTERED IN OUR DEALINGS
WITH AMB ESENBEL. CAGLAYANGIL'S BASIC STANCE, MAINTAINED
THROUGHOUT OUR DISCUSSION, WAS THAT THE FRASER AMENDMENT
WAS UNACCEPTABLE. WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT I WAS NOT DEFENDING,
AND THE USG WAS NOT ADOPTING THE FRASER AMENDMENT, I SPENT A
GREAT DEAL OF TIME GOING OVER THE VERY REAL ADVANTAGES WHICH
WOULD ACCRUE TO THE GOT EVEN IF A BILL CONTAINING THE FRASER
AMENDMENT ULTIMATELY PASSED BOTH HOUSES. THIS ENTAILED
MAKING A PRESENTATION SIMILAR TO, BUT SOMEWHAT
MORE EXTENSIVE THAN, THAT MADE BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HARTMAN TO AMB ESENBEL ON JULY 14TH. THE RESULT WAS A
CLEARING UP OF A NUMBER OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT CAGLAYANGIL
HAD GAINED, BUT UNFORTUNATELY HIS UNHAPPINESS OVER THE AMENDMENT
CLEARLY PERSISTED.

3. I NEXT REVIEWED AS GRAPHICALLY AS I COULD THE EXTRAORDINARY
EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY KISSINGER AND CONGRESSIONAL
LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES WHICH HAD BEEN TAKING PLACE IN RECENT
DAYS ON BEHALF OF THE US/TURKISH ALLIANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION I
STRESSED THAT A LEGISLATIVE PROCESS WAS NOW DEFINITELY UNDERWAY AND
THAT WE WOULD HAVE A SPECIFIC RESULT IN A MATTER OF DAYS. I,
OF COURSE, PLACED PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE PRESIDENT'S WISH
THAT NOTHING BE DONE BY THE GOT AT THIS END WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE
CURRENT USG EFFORT AT SUCH A KEY MOMENT. I SPOKE TOO OF
HOW CRITICALLY IMPORTANT IT WOULD BE, IF OUR EFFORT WITH THE CONGRESS
WAS SUCCESSFUL, FOR THE TURKS TO DISPLAY INCREASED FLEXIBILITY
IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS AND ON THIS SCORE I REPORTED HOW
EFFECTIVELY THE PRESIDENT HAD USED WITH CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS
THE ASSURANCES GIVEN HIM IN BRUSSELS BY PRIMIN DEMIREL.

4. AFTER WE HAD BEEN TALKING ABOUT ONE HOUR, THE FONMIN LEFT
FOR A PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED MEETING WITH THE PRIMIN. HE CARRIED
THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE WITH HIM AND ASKED ME TO WAIT IN HIS
APARTMENT UNTIL HIS RETURN. HE WAS GONE ABOUT ONE AND ONE-HALF
HOURS. THE INTERIM PERIOD WAS USED FIRST BY YAVUZALP TO TRANS-
LATE THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE FOR USE IN THE NSC MEETING
AND SUBSEQUENTLY BY BERGUS AND ME TO GO OVER AGAIN
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WITH YAVUZALP THE FAVORABLE RAMIFICATIONS WHICH REMAINED FOR
TURKEY IN THE CURRENT FRASER-AMENDED LEGISLATION. IN THE COURSE
OF THIS INTERLUDE YAVUZALP TOLD US IT WAS A MISTAKE FOR THE GOVT
TO SET A SPECIFIC JULY 17 DEADLINE BUT IT WAS NOW STUCK WITH IT AND HE

WAS CONCERNED OVER THE CONSEQUENCES.

5. CAGLAYANGIL RETURNED APPROXIMATELY 12:30 A.M. (JULY 16)

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TO REPORT THAT HE HAD DELIVERED THE MESSAGE AND THAT THE PRIMIN
REMAINED DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S EFFORTS.
UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THE PRIMIN WAS DISAPPOINTED IN THE
PRESIDENT'S WORDS AS THEY "CONTAINED NO NEW ELEMENT, NO PROGRESS."
DEMIREL HAD CONCLUDED, CAGLAYANGIL SAID, THAT NOTHING BETTER
THAN THE FRASER-AMENDED BILL WAS LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THE
CONGRESS AS A WHOLE. THIS MEANT THAT CONGRESS HAD NEVER
GIVEN UP, AND WAS STILL NOT GIVING UP, THE LINK BETWEEN CYPRUS
AND U.S. ARMS ASSISTANCE. THIS WAS BEING DONE DESPITE THE
FACT THAT IN 1967 AND ON OTHER OCCASIONS THE GREEKS HAD OPPRESSED
TURK CYPRIOTS WITH THE HELP OF AMERICAN ARMS AND WITHOUT CON-
GRESS HAVING TAKEN A SIMILAR ACTION. THE FORMIN ENDED
HIS REPORT BY SAYING DEMIREL WOULD REVIEW CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS
WITH THE NSC AND THE CABINET LATER IN THE DAY (JULY 16) AND THAT
AT THIS POINT HE COULD NOT "ANTICIPATE THE RESULT."

6. THIS PRECIPITATED A NEW ROUND OF LENGTHY AND FRANK DISCUSSION
BETWEEN THE FONMIN AND ME. DURING THIS EXCHANGE MY MAIN
POINTS WERE THAT AFTER MANY MONTHS OF WAITING WE WERE ON THE
VERGE OF A CONGRESSIONAL RESULT, THAT THERE REMAINED THE CLEAR
POSSIBILITY THAT THIS RESULT WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY SATISFACTORY TO
PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT
AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO BOTH OUR
INTERESTS FOR THE GOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD UNDER-
MINE WHAT WAS BEING DONE IN WASHINGTON. CAGLAYANGIL
FOR HIS PART PERSISTED IN BELITTLING THE VALUE OF THE FRASER-
AMENDED BILL AND SPOKE CONTINUALLY OF THE CRITICISM
THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE UNDER IF IT RENEGED ON ITS
COMMITMENT TO TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE U.S. PRESENCE HERE
IF CONGRESS HAD NOT ACTED DEFINITIVELY BY THE 17TH.
IN RESPONSE TO THIS LAST ARGUMENT I SPOKE OF THE CRITICISM WHICH
WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY COME TO THE CURRENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT
IF, AFTER A WAIT OF NEARLY SIX MONTHS, ADVERSE ACTIONS WERE
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TAKEN JUST A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE FINAL CONGRESSIONAL RESULT
WOULD BE KNOWN. THIS POINT WAS NOT LOST ON CAGLAYANGIL BUT
HE CONTINUED TO EXPRESS GREATER CONCERN ABOUT TURKEY'S LOSS OF FACE
(AND THE ADVERSE DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES TO ITS PRESENT
GOVERNMENT) IF SOME GOT ACTION WAS NOT TAKEN ON THE 17TH.
I SUGGESTED THIS NEED COULD BE MET BY OUR STARTING THE TALKS ON
THAT DATE WHILE FOREGOING ANY ACTIONS OR DECISIONS IN
CONNECTION WITH THEM UNTIL THE CONGRESSIONAL RESULT HAD BECOME
KNOWN AND COULD BE FULLY ANALYZED. WHILE CAGLAYANGIL DID NOT

FLATLY REJECT THIS SOLUTION, HE WAS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN LEAVING
THE IMPRESSION THAT SOMETHING MORE MIGHT BE REQUIRED.
MACOMBER UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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